



FY 2004 QUARTERLY REPORT (3RD QUARTER)

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REPUBLIC OF TAJIKISTAN

**Submitted to the
U.S. AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL
DEVELOPMENT
By IFES**

April 1 - June 30, 2004

I. GENERAL

During the third quarter of FY2004, IFES worked steadily toward advancing its programmatic objectives by working on civic education projects with high school students and conducting an intensive training program for representatives of political parties and their branches. A number of activities were carried out in support of civic education that spanned the conclusion of the academic year and the beginning of summer. For political parties, discussion of and preparation for the February parliamentary elections heated up as the Majlisi Oli considered two different drafts of the new election law. IFES contributed to the process by training party representatives in the regions and facilitating discussions at the national level.

New IFES Chief of Party Arrives

IFES' new Chief of Party, Katherine Müller, arrived in Dushanbe to begin work leading IFES project activities. Müller is a specialist in political party development, rule of law and civic education, and brings a wealth of experience in project management from 20+ years of work across Latin America. Upon arrival in Dushanbe, Müller presented her credentials to USAID Country Director Mike Harvey and to U.S. Ambassador Richard Hoagland. Müller will lead a staff of fifteen persons in two offices, Dushanbe and Khojand.

IFES Unveils New Logo, Slogan

On June 22 in Dushanbe, Katherine Müller and Program Manager Anthony Bowyer unveiled the new IFES logo and slogan, "Democracy at Large," ushering a new era in IFES' seventeen years of programming. The logo was presented during a welcoming reception for Müller in front of Tajik government officials, political party representatives, NGO leaders, international organizations, and officials from the U.S. Embassy, USAID and from other foreign governments. IFES' new mantra "Democracy at Large" reflects IFES' ability to find solutions to promoting democracy in any given case or situation, relying on its rich experience in civil society, good governance, rule of law and elections assistance to contribute to the rise of democracy.

II. PROGRAM ACTIVITIES

Civic Education

Memorandum of Understanding

Discussions with the Ministry of Education concerning the signing of an enhanced Memorandum of Understanding continued during the Third Quarter. The Ministry was nearing a final decision on signing the document, which would provide additional guarantees and support for all IFES civic education projects, particularly the civics course and textbook as internal changes within the Ministry delayed final signing.

The ultimate goal from the IFES perspective has been the introduction of the book into all schools in Tajikistan and the institutionalization of the book and course within the national curriculum.

During the quarter, USAID and IFES representatives met with Mrs. Latofat Nasriddinova, the Deputy Minister of Education. The purpose of the meeting was to introduce the new country director and to submit a new draft MOU for consideration of the Ministry of Education. Mrs. Nadezhda Yegay, USAID Civic Education Specialist, shared her positive impressions from her visits to the schools in Sughd and Khatlon Oblasts. Mrs. Nasriddinova was told that students from these schools who take the Civic Education course have good knowledge of the governmental structure, parliament and laws, and that the course promotes students' civic awareness and sense of patriotism. Students are eager to get the second part of the textbook. Mrs. Nasriddinova was very excited to hear about these schools and agreed to visit project sites. She spoke highly of the project and shared her good impressions about the textbook.

Civic Education Course/Textbook Project Update

By the end of the 2003-2004 school year, 138 secondary schools throughout the country were using the IFES course and textbook "Citizenship, Participation & Governance: Your Role in Civil Society in the 21st Century." Of those, 9790 students took the course in Tajik. Students from 14 schools in Dushanbe and farther regions used the Russian version of the textbook, which was first released in the fall of 2002.

IFES projects that, depending on budgetary resources, it can expand the number of participating schools threefold for the upcoming school year. The goal of the project is to turn the book and course over to the Ministry of Education so it can use it as a standard text on civics and democracy in grades 9-11 in all of Tajikistan's 3000 secondary schools.

IFES has started the translation of the textbook into Uzbek. Part I of the book will be ready for use by the fall of 2004. The British Embassy sponsored the translation of the book, aimed to serve Uzbek-speaking students in Sughd Oblast and other southern regions. Thus IFES will have the textbook available in three local languages (Tajik, Russian and Uzbek). Translation into Kyrgyz depends on the availability of funds. The Kyrgyz version will be used to serve the ethnic Kyrgyz population living in Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Oblast.

Post-Course Follow up

IFES field representatives conducted follow up to the civic education course by visiting a number of schools in Khatlon Oblast. In late May, IFES Textbook Coordinator Sayora Grezova visited schools in Shahritouz, Qabobiyon, Jilikul, Panj and Nosiri Khisrav districts. Students from schools in these regions were given a civic education 'final quiz' to test their knowledge of concepts and principles of civic education learned from the IFES course. Test results for a control group from Nosiri Khisrav were compared against the results of other districts and it was found that the students having studied in IFES

pilot schools scored highly on the basic principles of democracy and civil society. After the exams, a school director from Nosiri Khisrav requested for his and other schools from the district to be included in the expanded list of participating schools in the fall. Also, IFES found that the majority of the districts' inhabitants were Uzbeks, and this will be taken into consideration for the future phases and outreach. The Civic Quiz was conducted in a very friendly environment, with representatives of the district Hukumat authorities present to observe.

School-Based Activities

Student Local Government Day

SLGD activities concluded for the year, with IFES conducting four new activities involving over 100 students. To date, IFES conducted 23 SLGDs in 16 different locations, involving 330 students and 218 local officials.

Democracy Summer Camp

IFES conducted the first of two Democracy Summer Camps at the Zuhul Campsite in Kairakkhum, Sughd Oblast. Seventy students representing different districts of Sughd Oblast, including Kanibodom, Isfara, Penjakent and Khojand regions, participated. The ten-day event included hands-on instruction in legal rights, civil society and volunteerism, democratic governance, elections, political activism, human rights, conflict resolution, gender equality, tolerance, and democratic values. Students conducted a mock election after dividing up into different political parties of their own creation. The students represented a near even split in boys vs. girls, and came from both urban and rural locations from throughout Sughd Oblast. IFES-Khojand Project Coordinator Moukim Mallaev worked with the leading local trainer Rafoat Bobieva to organize the Camp, supported by the Chief of Party Katherine Müller and Program Manager Anthony Bowyer, who met with trainers and students during the opening day. The official program was punctuated by opportunities to relax and meet peers in an informal setting, which created a vibrant, trusting atmosphere among Camp participants. Trainers at the Camp commented that students feel privileged to be participating, and IFES had to select competitively from hundreds of applications received to narrow the list of participants to seventy. Young men and women who had attended IFES summer camps in the past volunteered their time to help mentor students during this Camp. At the end of the experience, students, who took both entrance and exit exams, displayed a much improved understanding of democratic processes and civil society and, more importantly, the energy with which positive change can take place through work as advocates in civil society or as community leaders. The second and final camp of the year will take place in August near Tursun-Zade.

Student Conversation Clubs

In May, the final Student Conversation Club event of the academic year was conducted at the Slavonic University for 30 students of the 3rd and 4th years of the International Relations Department. The topic was the “Potential for Development of the Tourism Industry in Tajikistan,” with guest speaker Garth Willis, Program Director of Relief International - Schools Online (an IFES partner in the “School Connectivity” project).

The Club topped off a successful year for the project, which saw the expansion of SCCs from three to six universities nationwide, with over 350 students participating in regular round table discussions. Topics discussed ranged from political to economic to social issues, with students able to hone their debating and discussion skills and express their ideas and thoughts. Guided by IFES mentors, which often included student volunteers from previous SCCs now working as IFES interns, the topics included participation of guest speakers who promoted thought-provoking discussion on a variety of issues faced by citizens in Tajikistan today trying to develop democracy and economic opportunities in the country. The projects have drawn the attention of other international partner organizations, who would like to combine resources to promote the discussion of topical issues in advance of the forthcoming elections, such as media freedoms and the rights of journalists. Participating students revel in the opportunity to discuss their views and opinions with foreign guests, with whom they have had but infrequent contact. IFES envisions the further expansion of the SCCs in the fall when the new academic year commences.

Student Action Committees

At the conclusion of final examinations for the academic year, one of the teachers from the “Khojamashad” Gymnasium in Shahrityuz approached IFES-Tajikistan staff and discussed their independent initiatives concerning the conduct of SACs and use of the civic education textbook. As has happened on many occasions during the school year, a school not on IFES’ list of participating pilot schools conducted activities on its own and requested to be formally included during the 2004-2005 school year. The SAC initiated by a teacher of history and law became the first to undertake this project in the district. The teacher gained a copy of the IFES SAC manual and organized all preparations himself based on the instructions and guidelines provided.

Dushanbe School #1 hosted an “Inter-SAC” seminar with the participation of six separate SACs representing other schools in Dushanbe. There were 22 participants, members and mentors of the SACs in attendance. The seminar was organized around the topic “Democracy and Student Action Committees.” The main purpose of this seminar was to discuss how democracy is related to SACs and how to make the SACs work effectively on the basis of democratic standards. Students discussed the concepts of “direct” and “indirect” democracy and how ordinary people are involved in the process. Students and SAC Mentors analyzed and compared the SAC structures, responsibilities and activities to other existing school organizations that are supervised by the Ministry of Education. They found that the scope of work for the SACs is much wider, independent, and members can include students, community representatives, teachers and members of parental committees.

IFES Chief of Party Katherine Miller and Nadezhda Yegay visited IFES SAC schools in Sughd and Khatlon Oblasts to become familiar with SAC activities in this area. During their visits they saw several SACs in action, attended SAC student elections, and saw the launch of the 8th edition of the SAC newsletter distributed to all participating schools. The visits were conducted in conjunction with IFES regular monitoring activities.

These and other SAC events that took place during the quarter show that the SACs are becoming sustainable, with new and returning participants organizing events of their own accord and initiative. This has been the goal of the project for IFES, to empower students to continue volunteering their time to promote community growth and improvement. IFES makes every effort to monitor the work of these groups, who are growing in number each week, through regular monitoring and evaluation. IFES has formed a database of SACs and their activities that is available online for any student or mentor to access, the goal being to extend linkages between all participating schools.

School Connectivity Project

IFES continued its partnership with Relief International-Schools Online during the third quarter. IFES has a partnership with RI-SOL to conduct training for Student Action Committees in a number of schools newly “wired” to the Internet. Four trainings were conducted in the fall and winter of the 2003-2004 school year in schools which are part of the RI-SOL and IFES networks, with new schools connected and activities of SACs recorded in an online database. IFES Civic Education Assistant Salohiddin Shamsiddinov maintained the database and facilitated communication and exchanges between participating students, and updated the website to include the latest information. The partnership has proven very successful, with additional trainings and exchanges planned for the 2004-2005 school year in accordance with RI-SOL’s workplan and joint agreement with IFES.

IFES Tajikistan organized a SAC meeting in the Relief International-Schools Online Internet Center in Qurghon-Teppa. This meeting was held for two days with participation of 6 SACs in Qurghon-Teppa. Altogether, 30 students and 6 teachers participated in the meeting. The purpose of this meeting was to teach SAC students to access the Internet and to open e-mail accounts so that they can be in touch with IFES Tajikistan and other colleagues all around the country.

The NGO “Ranginkamon,” partner of Relief International - Schools Online in Qurghon-Teppa assisted students in using the Internet and opening e-mail accounts. The website of IFES-Tajikistan and IFES offices in Central Asia was shown to the students, where they found the chance to get introduced to IFES projects, especially in the field of civic education. After the completion of the meeting, e-mail addresses of the students were listed and, in the future, IFES-Tajikistan will contact them by email and also send updated information and newsletters through the Internet.

Political Party Development

Partnerships with Swiss, British in Support of IFES Political Party Work

Katherine Müller met with Swiss Development Corporation Country Director Daniel Züst and gained funding support for extension of the IFES political party training series focusing on promoting women’s political activism. Mr. Züst expressed enthusiasm regarding the importance of the project and signed a formal agreement of support with Katherine Müller that will support IFES’ ongoing regional training activities. A similar agreement was concluded with the Embassy of the United Kingdom in Dushanbe to

enhance the IFES training series for regional political party representatives to improve communication and outreach. Margaret Belof, Deputy Head of Mission, formally agreed to provide funding support for extension of the training to new regions in Tajikistan. Training for both projects commenced in June.

Seminar Series on Gender and Political Activeness in Rural Areas begins

With the generous financial support provided by the Swiss Cooperation Office of Tajikistan, IFES conducted the first in a series of gender-based training seminars for regional political party branches in Tajikistan from June 21-23, 2004. IFES trainers presented material and facilitated group exercises which promoted an understanding of the issues facing rural women in Tajikistan and how to encourage women from all strata of society to become more politically and socially active.

Fourteen women and five men participated in the inaugural training seminar from Vahdat city and the surrounding region. The event was opened with welcoming comments by the Mayor of Vahdat, Swiss Cooperation, and IFES representatives. Following participant introductions, the formal training part of the three-day seminar began, which featured a mix of topical discussions and thematic exercises. The majority of participants indicated that it was the first time they realized what their rights were, and many indicated their intention to share the information with women in their communities. Participants formally requested the conducting of one of the seminars in the Romit Valley region, indicating the need to expand the training even further throughout the Areas of Republican Subordination.

Women in rural areas of Tajikistan have a fairly modest knowledge and understanding of the political and election systems, of political parties, and in general of their rights as citizens. In order to help create a system of democratic governance that is more representative of the entire population, women need to be given access to basic information and empowered on how to use it. Women's leaders from political party branches can be the vehicles for promoting women's political awareness and activism through information dissemination and discussion. This seminar was thus geared to training women in public speaking and communications skills in order to better reach out to their peers through a series of meetings and workshops.

The subsequent meetings and workshops will allow rural women to gain critical information on politics and government as well as to receive an understanding of the different types of political parties in Tajikistan and their various platforms.

IFES feels that the seminar series will contribute greatly to the State Plan on increasing the role of women in society and politics by empowering them to become more informed and active.

IFES Conducts First in a Series of Skill-Building Seminars for Party Branch Members

With the generous funding support of the British Embassy in Dushanbe, IFES conducted a three-day Communications and Skill-building seminar for members of political party branches in Vahdat City, located 20 kilometers west of Dushanbe, from June 24-26,

2004. The seminar was designed to provide local political party representatives with the tools needed to serve as information conduits to potential constituents about the political system of the country and work to expand their party's base by reaching out to ordinary citizens and generating interest in their platforms.

IFES' trainers provided leadership, public speaking, and organizational training to regional party representatives in order to increase their effectiveness as communicators and professionals. Representatives of the Islamic Renaissance Party, Communist Party and People's Democratic Party were represented, as they are the only three parties to have representation in the region. Other registered parties were encouraged to send representatives to build local capacity. Representatives of political movements and NGOs from the region also actively participated in the training. Among the most active of the public movements was the Youth Community of Vahdat region, which had five participants in attendance.

Twenty-two people participated in the seminar, with an even split between men and women. The theme of elections gained prominence during the event, due to the upcoming local and national elections set for February 2005. After general training on how the government of Tajikistan is structured at all levels, issues of the new election law and campaign finance regulations received particular attention in small group exercises.

At the end of the seminar, participants were asked to evaluate what they had learned and what next steps they would take following the seminar. Several participants responded that they felt empowered by the information they received and planned on meeting members of their local party to disseminate information and discuss outreach strategies. One attendee said "The topics selected represented the real problems faced in our society...more such seminars should be organized for districts in even more outlying regions."

IFES plans on continuing the series with a three-day training seminar in Isfara in mid-July. An additional nine trainings are planned, with the possibility of more being organized as funding allows closer to election time.

Political Party Study Tour

IFES worked with AED in Dushanbe and the NGO CNVOS in Ljubljana, Slovenia to organize final details of a Study Tour for Tajik political party representatives to take place from July 4-10. Once an agenda had been established for local meetings, IFES confirmed the list of participants and worked with AED to arrange logistic details including travel. Informational briefing packets were prepared for the Tajik participants on the Slovenian political system, with information prepared on Tajikistan for the Slovenian hosts. Slovenia was selected as the host destination for the Tour due to its successes in transitioning from part of a communist federation to an independent, developing democracy. Elections in Slovenia will take place in the fall of 2004, and the political parties there are preparing in earnest for the campaign ahead. This offered numerous opportunities for counterparts from Tajikistan to learn from the experience and

best practices of the Slovenians and apply that knowledge to their own campaigns in advance of elections to the Majlisi Namoyandagon in February 2005.

The goal of the Study Tour is to provide regional-level political party organizers the opportunity to learn how local-party organizations work in Slovenia. The Tour is expected to provide special emphasis on cross-party cooperation, development of a local organizational persona not dependent on an individual party leader, and the impact of election law. The Study Tour should enable participants to visit local party headquarters, meet with local party organizers and discuss the political party structure and methods at the local level.

Intrinsic to this important goal of the tour was to expose Tajikistan's political party leaders and activists to a successful model of multi-party interaction, both during the campaign period and especially regarding opposition cooperation during the legislative process. This would be achieved through visits with members of Parliament, party leaders, and key Parliamentary staff.

The Study Tour is directed to representatives of the six registered political parties (two persons from each party), a presidential advisor and a representative of the Central Commission for Election and Referenda (CCER).

Upon completion of the training program it is expected that participants will be able to:

- Explore ways and principles of political party building at the local level and improvement of communication and information flow with their regional and national counterparts;
- Understand the role of grassroots organizations in pre-election campaigns, and women and youth participation in the electoral process;
- Know what political strategies, tactics, and environment are needed for political parties to expand;
- Understand how to build coalitions and organize constructive political struggle;
- Learn preparation of leaders and their image-making;
- Understand issues related to media; and
- Understand successful interplay and productivity between opposition factions within the conduct of legislative processes.

Drawing on their respective years of experience in leading Study Tours abroad, IFES selected Chief of Party Katherine Müller and Deputy Country Director Bahriddin

Sharipov as the main training providers to accompany the group to Slovenia. A final pre-trip briefing for IFES staff and Tajik participants will be held on July 3.

Election Discussion Round Tables

IFES/NAPST Roundtable Discussion Series on Political Parties and Election Law Reforms

Three timely IFES roundtable discussions on election-related issues were held in April, building up to an anticipated parliamentary vote in late June on changes proposed to the election law. The timing of the roundtables coincided with the height of debates among registered political parties, domestic NGO groups, the international community and the Majlisi Oli (MO) regarding the proposed election law reforms. The aim of the roundtables was to provoke fresh thinking on key reform issues, encourage open dialogue and discussion among all stakeholders, and provide new insight previously not considered by voting members of the MO, in a forum designed to gather senior-level officials of the Tajikistani government together with key political party leaders. IFES also wanted to provide materials for legislative reference beyond the roundtable discussions which it did in the form of international standards papers and topical resource papers in Tajik and Russian.

The discussions resulted in the participants from the three voting factions within the Majlisi Oli as well as the other three party leaders, asking new questions and sparking new debate regarding the roundtable subjects, posing new scenarios to the expert panel of local and international speakers, and stimulating a broader base for discussion as a group.

The impact of these roundtables served to successfully stimulate new levels of discussion amongst the international and NGO community and political parties, and more importantly amongst the voting members of the Majlisi Oli as they deliberate on key issues of election legislative reform. Political party leaders participating in the IFES-sponsored discussions have gone on to engage in other meetings on the subject, and requested a follow-up roundtable to further address the important issues of election observation and precinct election commissions in a public forum, which was later conducted cooperatively between IFES, UNTOP, NDI and OSCE. This joint discussion was open and attended by the media as well as local NGOs, international organizations and Tajik citizens, which broadened the range of people who will hear of these issues. This resulted in a wider scope of public communication that the initial three roundtables helped to encourage.

Roundtable on Precinct Election Commissions

IFES, in partnership with the National Association of Political Scientists of Tajikistan, conducted the first roundtable discussion on “Election Law Reform: Precinct Election Commission.” Representatives from the existing parliamentary party factions, political parties not represented in the legislature, the CCER, the executive office of the President and Mass Media participated in the event. Stephanie Wheeler, IFES Political Party Consultant, opened the roundtable, emphasizing the significance of the issue and addressed the current law on elections vs. the developed proposals by the party factions in the parliament. Wheeler also mentioned that IFES was going to conduct additional

discussions including: “Precinct Election Commissions,” “Financing pre-Election Campaign” and “Domestic Observers During the Elections.”

The sides exchanged ideas and views on the proposed amendments and also shared experience of the past 2000 parliamentary elections. PDPT faction representatives pointed that the proposals developed by the factions will be under consideration of parliamentary committees until early May and further added that they would try to incorporate the two documents (draft law proposals) into one. According to participants, it was the first time in the parliament when party factions demonstrated such an important initiative.

Roundtable on Campaign Financing and Fundraising

The second NAPST/IFES roundtable in a series of three was held at the Rakhsh Restaurant on the subject of Political Party and Campaign Financing, a section of proposed election law reform which was hotly debated in the Majlisi Namoyandagon. Participants included seated members of the party factions represented in the Majlisi Namoyandagon, leaders of the three political parties not represented in the Majlisi Namoyandagon, representatives from the President’s Office and the Chairman of the Central Commission for Elections and Referendum of the Republic of Tajikistan. Members of the press included: Asia Plus, Radio Vatan, Armughon Informational Agency, Avesta, Sadoi Mardum Newspaper, Khovar Informational Agency, Pulse of East Newspaper and Vercherniy Dushanbe Newspaper.

The expert panel’s comments were very informative and well-received by the participants, who took notes and asked many questions. The panel was comprised of: Stephanie Wheeler, Dr. Thomas Kunze, Representative for the Konrad Adenauer Foundation for Central Asia and Kazakhstan; Mr. Robert Clemen, Member of Parliament of the State of Saxony of Federal Republic of Germany; Dr. Heinz Buelher, Special Advisor to the Konrad Adenauer Foundation for Tajikistan, Iran and the Southern Caucasus; Mr. Scott Smith, United Nations Political Affairs Officer from New York; and Mr. Francisco Cobos Flores, United Nations Consultant and Election Specialist from Nicaragua.

Roundtable on Election Observation

IFES, in cooperation with NAPST and the French Embassy, conducted the final roundtable discussion in a series of three dedicated to subjects currently under debate regarding election law reform. Participants included representatives from the Executive office and the CCER, members of the political party factions represented in the Majlisi Namoyandagon, leaders of political parties not represented in the parliament, and members of the press.

The subject of the discussion was election observation. The French Embassy assisted in providing an expert from France to contribute to the forum. The discussions focused on areas including a comparison of Tajikistan law to international standards; other country experiences; and possible methods of application of international standards and other country experiences to Tajikistan’s current laws and reform proposals.

Roundtable on Election Law Reforms

An IFES/NAPST roundtable was held on June 10 as the final in a series of high-level discussions on Tajikistan's election law reform proposals. The meeting was a cooperative effort led by IFES, in association with OSCE, UNTOP, NDI, and the US, British and German Embassies. Presentations by the OSCE Ambassador, the US Ambassador and a senior advisor to President Rakhmonov, as well as presentations by Deputies of the Majlisi Oli on certain election reform proposals commanded a turnout of over 80 from the international and local communities as well as print, radio and television mass media. The talks came in the midst of a week of Deputy and Parliamentary deliberations on the proposals, and just days before a vote on the reforms, anticipated to take place in mid-June.

The event marked the first time this year that the Deputies and high-level international community representatives came together to discuss the reform drafts in the presence of the media and public.

New Election Law Adopted

On June 19, the Majlisi Namoyandagon, the lower house of parliament, passed amendments to the election code of Tajikistan. With only one dissenting vote, deputies approved a number of changes to the code, including the provision that in order to be registered as an independent or party-nominated candidate (either via single-mandate constituency or via part list), there will be a fee of 200 times the local minimum wage, equaling a fee of close to \$500 per candidate for elections to parliament. This amount was seen as unreasonable by members of opposition parties, who claim that the fee will prohibit them from registering many of their candidates. Should a candidate win a seat in parliament, the money will be returned to that person or party. For those unsuccessful in their bids to win seats, the registration fee will revert to the state budget.

Of equal note were the changes not adopted by the Majlisi Namoyandagon, including creating the provision for the participation of independent domestic election monitors and the guarantee of diversity, based on political party representation, of local election commissions. Although the Tajik law already includes an obscure reference to participation by party members on local commissions, there is no administrative regulation or guarantee on how to carry this out. Tajikistan broke with its neighbors in not allowing or strengthening this provision, as Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan adopted clearly-defined rules on the makeup of local election commissions (though in the case of Kazakhstan the allocation of seats still remained problematic by the close of the quarter). In terms of domestic monitors, the decision to exclude independent groups or individuals stymied the efforts of NGOs and aspiring groups such as the *Coalition for Fair Elections* to gain accreditation and field monitors.

The CCER remained satisfied with the outcome of the law, calling it an improved version over that which governed the 2000 local and national legislative elections. The Majlisi Namoyandagon had been considering two versions of the law, the first in a proposal put forth by the ruling People's Democratic Party, and the second a version submitted by the

Islamic Renaissance Party and the Communist Party, with the Social Democratic Party offering additional suggestions. The final version was seen by the CCER as a “compromise” version, though it appeared to look very much like the version proposed by the PDPT. Nonetheless, criticism was rather suppressed in the aftermath of the vote, though dissenting voices among the opposition could be heard to a limited degree. Following the Majlisi Namoyandagon vote, the law was sent to the Majlisi Milli (upper house) in July and later to President Rakhmonov for final ratification.

Parliamentary Outreach

IFES worked with the Press Secretary of the Majlisi Oli, Muhammadato Sultonov, to develop scenarios for a series of televised educational programs featuring deputies from the parliament. The programs are designed to educate citizens about the political legislative process by focusing on the work of parliamentarians in the regions. Negotiations were completed between IFES, Sultonov, and a Tajik State Television journalist on production issues and methodology of the programs. The episodes will cover the following topics: Division of Power, A Working Day of Parliament, Women in Parliament, Legislature of the Republic of Tajikistan on Youth Problems, Political Parties in the 2005 elections, the Democratization Process in Parliament, Parliament from the View of People, and additional themes. Stephanie Wheeler worked with Press Secretary Sultonov to prepare the scenario of the 1st episode on the “Division of Power.” The project, part of IFES’ approved workplan, will include opportunities for interactive citizen participation through question-and-answer sessions. Production was to have commenced in the spring, though delays pushed the timeline back to the summer.

III. MATERIALS PRODUCED

- Resource Information Packet for political party training participants
- Information Packet for Political Party Study Tour members
- Information Packet for Slovenian Host Study Tour officials
- IFES Promotional Bulletin on Civic Education Course
- Civic Education Success Stories

IV. ISSUES AND CHALLENGES

During the third quarter, IFES and the Ministry of Education continued negotiations on a revised Memorandum of Understanding. While the Ministry embraces the idea of an expanded MoU that would officially provide IFES with the mandate to include more participating schools into the civic education course and textbook project as well as increase the visibility of IFES’ other civic education initiatives, organizational changes in the Ministry and the reluctance of middle-level decision makers to recommend a final course of action again delayed negotiations and the date for a signing ceremony. It had been expected that such a ceremony could take place in June, but after meetings with Ministry representatives Savriddinova and Mullochaev it was again delayed until

sometime in the fourth quarter. USAID offices in Dushanbe and Almaty and the U.S. Embassy were kept apprised of developments.

Katherine Müller, a specialist in civic education, rule of law, political party development, and elections, arrived in Dushanbe as the new IFES Chief of Party. Ms. Müller, who previously worked for the majority of her career in Latin America, brings over 20 years of experience to the position. Muller completed a week of training in the IFES home office in Washington and arrived in Dushanbe in early April.

Political Party Difficulties

Taraqqiyot Party

Mr. Quvvat Sultonov, head of the unregistered political party “Taraqqiyot,” addressed the Supreme Court on accusations of violations of human rights and freedom made by the Ministry of Justice. The Ministry refused registration of the party and based its decision on the fact that some members of the party indicated they were allegedly not familiar with the party or its program, not to mention its existence. Sultonov accused the Ministry of misleading the public and refusing his party’s registration on political grounds.

Vahdat Party

Hukmatullo Saidov, the chairman of the unregistered Vahdat party, indicated to Radio Liberty that the refusal by the Ministry of Justice to register his party was due to the poor Law on Political Parties. In accordance with Article 3, Paragraph 3 of law, the Ministry stated that some party supporters didn’t live in the republic and also some alleged members who were questioned could not confirm their support for the party. Vahdat was established in August 2002 in a party constituent congress and it was the second time that the Ministry had refused its registration.

Socialist Party

The issue of the inclusion of the Socialist Party of Tajikistan in the Political Party Study Tour of Slovenia came up, as IFES heard that the leaders of the Socialist Party had been removed from their posts as decreed at an extraordinary party congress held in Dushanbe. The alleged new party leader, Qurbon Vosiev, insisted to AED and IFES that the previous party chairman, Narziev, not be allowed to participate on the Tour. The Ambassador advised that IFES not render judgment on the internal affairs of the party, and therefore abstain from sending any representatives of the SP to Slovenia. Vosiev, a former advisor to President Rakhmonov, is Chair of the public association Movement of National Unity and Revival of Tajikistan, an association supported by the president. Ambassador Hoagland said that the SP is really a very minor party, but in any case the Tajik government is very ancy about foreign NGOs or U.S. government agencies working or meeting with opposition political parties. The Ambassador also explained that a lot of political influence is still exerted in Tajikistan by Russia, and the “old guard” is still very active there, i.e. the security services.

Mr. Narziev, the Chairman of the Socialist Party of Tajikistan, arrived at IFES' office to speak with Katherine Müller, Bahriddin Sharipov and Anthony Bowyer about the status of the party. Narziev claimed that Vosiev's "extraordinary" party congress was illegal, and that he has the support of the regional SP party branches in Sughd, Khatlon and Gorno-Badakhshan regions. Narziev claimed that Vosiev had not paid membership dues in years, and according to the party's charter, this disqualifies Vosiev from even being a member of the party (which in fact happened after the 4th all-party congress in 2000). The Socialist Party has been in turmoil since the killing five years ago of then-Chairman Kenjaev, who Narziev claims was murdered by Qurbon Vosiev. Regarding the new election law, Narziev expressed his dissatisfaction with the final version approved by the Majlisi Namoyandagon (and subsequently approved by the Majlisi Milli and signed into law by President Rakhmonov) in that it "restricts the participation of political parties in elections." The People's Democratic Party is supposedly attempting to "usurp" the Socialist Party's support in Sughd Oblast. The SP claims 14,700 members nationally, though is split into two factions, one of which is allegedly supported by the government.

The resulting confusion over the party's true leadership prevented IFES from being able to include any representatives of the Socialist Party on the Study Tour to Slovenia.

IV. PERFORMANCE MONITORING

Performance Indicator	Indicator Definition & Unit of Measure	Data Source	Data for Q3 FY04
Curriculum Development			
# of New Students Participating in the Civic Education Course	Student Participation and Reach of the Textbook and New Teaching Methodologies	Participating Schools	9440 new students took the course (3500 expected in original benchmarks) 124 new schools added (106 expected in original benchmarks)
Student Action Committees			
# New Students Participating in SACs (# of Women)	Student Participation and Reach of Extracurricular Civic Education Activities	Teachers/Mentors	50 (30)
# of SACs Formed (# of Activities)	Reach and Activeness of SACs	Teachers/Mentors	3 (6)

Student Local Government Days			
# of Students (# of Government Officials) Participating in SLGD	Student Participation and Reach of Extracurricular Civic Education Activities That Promote Real-Life Learning	IFES	0 (0) (Activity completed prior to April)
Information Resources			
# of Hits on the Website	Awareness and Interest in IFES Resources	IFES	9613

Student Conversation Clubs			
# New Students Participating in SACs (# of Women in SCCs)	Participation and Reach of SCCs	IFES	180 (80)
# of New SCC Events	Reach of SCCs	IFES	Bi-weekly, in three new universities
Democracy Summer Camps			
# of Students Applying for Summer Camps (# of Participants)	Student Participation, Awareness, and Interest in Extracurricular Civic Education Activities	IFES	300 (72 accepted) in first of two summer camps for 2004. Second camps scheduled for August.
% of Students with a Better Understanding of Democratic Values	Increased Understanding of the Rights and Responsibilities of Citizens Who Value Democracy	IFES	100% (according to test results)
% of Students Expressing Interest in Civic Activism	Impact of Extracurricular Civic Education Activities on Behavior	IFES	100% (according to test results)

Political Party Development – Communications and Skill-Building Training Seminars			
# of Participants in Political Party Development Programs	Participation and Reach of Training	IFES	22 (one event conducted during period)
Level of Informal Networking Among Women	Impact of Training	IFES	High (based on observation)
Application of Skills Obtained During Training	Impact of Training	IFES	TBD
% of IFES-Trained Party Trainers Conducting Training Programs Independent of IFES	Impact of Training	IFES	TBD
Political Party Development – Gender-Based Training Seminars			
# of Participants in Political Party Development Programs	Participation and Reach of Training	IFES	22 (one event conducted during period)
Level of Informal Networking Among Women	Impact of Training	IFES	High (based on observation)
Application of Skills Obtained During Training	Impact of Training	IFES	TBD
% of IFES-Trained Party Trainers Conducting Training Programs Independent of IFES	Impact of Training	IFES	TBD

Political Party Development – NAPST Round Table Discussions			
# of Events and Participants (including # of “Ordinary Citizens” participating)	Participation of attendees in promoting and advancing discussion of sensitive and topical political issues.	IFES	4 (99 total participants, with around 10% non-political party or NGO)
Political Party Development – Parliamentary Outreach Project			
# of Viewers Watching the Parliamentary Information Show	Discussions with students and family members.	IFES	0 programs completed, expected in summer.

Political Party Development – Political Party Legislation Review			
# of “productive” discussions held on the PP law	Discussion events on the political party law	IFES, event co-organizers	Project not completed*
# of participating discussants, from parliament and political parties	Political party representatives, deputies, lawyers/experts and other interested parties attending the discussion sessions	IFES	Project not completed*

*IFES has determined that recent analyses of the Law on Political Parties as conducted by the United Nations and OSCE are sufficient in assessing its status. As the law has not been changes since those analyses were conducted, IFES felt a new analysis would prove redundant. With only 5% of available resources dedicated to the project, it was felt these could be better used in other aspects of the IFES political party development program.